

## JOURNAL OF FREEDOM.

RALEIGH, N. C.

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## AGENTS FOR THE JOURNAL.

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## TEMPORARY SUSPENSION.

In our last issue we announced to our readers the fact that the JOURNAL has been so successful in establishing itself on a permanent footing, that we are encouraged to make additional outlays of money in the purchase of a complete printing office. In order to do this, we are obliged to suspend publication for a few weeks, during which time we propose to go North after the material.

We shall soon return, and when we get our new harness on, our friends and enemies may rest assured that we will labor with renewed energy for the cause of justice and humanity. We have struggled hard against high rents, and have met with great opposition in our business capacity, on account of our principles; but we are surmounting all difficulties, and feel confident that we will succeed. To ensure success, we must labor incessantly, and our friends must do the same. During our absence, they must double their efforts in our behalf, and when we return we promise to reciprocate.

The most disastrous evil resulting from the slave system, which has retarded the advancement of the South in years past, is the ignorance of the mass of voters, and their consequent amenability to the influence of demagogues, who in turn increase the evil by commanding state officials, and others high in power, as to the disposition of patronage. We know that in the late Constitutional Convention there were men who freely acknowledged the justice of allowing freedmen to testify in our courts, but they were afraid to announce their belief publicly because the demagogues, appealing to the prejudices of the ignorant, would cry out, "nigger-lover," and the consequence would be, to use the words of one gentleman, "bad men would creep into our places." This assertion may not be filled with excessive modesty, but it is fraught with wholesome, though unpalatable, truth. It clearly shows why the leading men, and nearly all of the office-holders of the South, have been such fearful and unscrupulous demagogues. To retain positions, where they modestly assumed that they could benefit the country, they have been obliged to truckle and pander to ignorance and prejudice, and have thereby given these anti-Republican elements a firmness which years cannot uproot. Statesmanship has been degraded, and a false idol set up, before which men of talent and ability unhesitatingly kneel, and in loud voices pay their devotions, so that their constituents may hear them. From what we can gather of the private conversations of both the Union and Secession leaders of the late Convention, we infer that not a single one of them was averse to the admission of negro testimony into our courts; but where is the man who has dared to announce such opinions openly? There are such men, but their honesty prevented them from taking seats in the Convention. They appealed to the common sense of the people, and relying on the justice of their positions to overcome prejudice, they were defeated as candidates for the reason that ignorance and demagoguism is the ruling power in this as well as other Southern States.

There is no justification for this condition of affairs in the oft-repeated assertion that demagoguism prevails in some of the Northern States. It is as base there as here, and in so far as it is successful, demands equal denunciation. The people of the North, with all their boasted purity and loyalty, have often times been lead astray by policy-men and time-servers. Even now the politicians of the Republican party in New York have sunk its principles in cowardly conciliatory platforms, abandoning the firm basis on which the organization rests to propitiate the votes of the prejudiced and unthinking negro-haters. In Pennsylvania, Mr. CESSA, the Chairman of the Republican Central Union Committee, did the same thing by publishing a letter, which states truly enough, that negro suffrage was not a question of the campaign, but which betrayed a cowardly willingness to desert principles. In

Ohio, J. D. Cox, the candidate for Governor, did the same thing. In Wisconsin, under the lead of Senator DOOLITTLE, and other mistaken conservatives, principles were abandoned in like manner. In Iowa, Massachusetts and Minnesota, the party fearlessly announced its true principles, and without fear of losing the custom-house, or something else, unfolded the banner of liberty and equal rights to the breeze. So far as we have yet heard, the intelligence of the voters in these States has justified this honest announcement.

In the North, as well as in the South, the ambition of men results in the demoralization of the ballot-box. Unprincipled scoundrels subvert the purity of party principles for selfish reasons, or conservative, "well-drilled" party schemers make unwarrantable concessions to encourage desertions from the opposition without thinking of the wholesale abandonment of their own doctrines. But we are mainly interested in affairs that pertain to North Carolina, and will trust the people of the North to work their own salvation, while we beseech and pray the men of acknowledged influence and intelligence in the South to make a combined effort to indoctrinate our people with a due appreciation of the requirements of justice. Let every one of the many men who, in their own consciences, acknowledge the injustice of our present laws regarding the black man, but speak his mind publicly, and the result will be that prejudice will flee, abashed at the array of intelligence and ability thus brought against it.

The influence of the ignorant is one of the greatest evils of a Republican form of government, and is the best argument which is offered by the opponents of negro-suffrage. The ignorant masses of the South were led by their prejudices into the late war, and it is probable that to increase the ignorant mass of voters would be to increase our present distress. But take the power to influence away from ignorant whites and give it to the intelligent blacks, and then, our condition is improved. This proposition is not a feasible one, however, as ignorance would vote it down; therefore, we are reduced to another, and, after all, the best and most ennobling scheme, that of education. From its past history the South should learn a lesson, and the education of the masses should be the paramount aim of its legislative enactments. Give us light, and the State will not be disgraced by having members in its General Assembly who cannot sign their names, as has been the case in times past. Give us a practicable free school system, and Raleigh need not have in its Board of Commissioners men who cannot sign their names, as is the case now. Give us honest, capable teachers for the masses, and we will soon discard the unmanly prejudices that now control us, and be truly a free and independent people.

In a previous number of the JOURNAL we announced it as our opinion, that there is a certain class of people in this State who would only send their children to school when obliged by law. Such a law is a stern necessity, if we wish to retain this body of people in our voting community. But if such a law should be considered obnoxious or impracticable, we can effect our end by educating others to a due sense of the responsibility of the ballot and then deprive these worthless cyphers of humanity of its use. Reform is needed throughout the whole land. Thorough, searching and radical reform can only make our country what it should be. New ideas must take the place of old foggy doctrines, and our people must be made to realize the errors of the past, and to use our past experience, bitter as it has been, in guiding our future. Slavery, the great cause of ignorance, has been displaced by the shock of arms, and being rudely torn from its stronghold, the jagged fragments remaining will puncture the nation's wounds and keep them constantly bleeding unless we remove them. Let there be but one cry; but one object and aim during this generation, and let that be education. Education, broad and comprehensive, including all classes and colors, can only free us from demagoguism, and can only ensure the perpetuation of our present form of self-government.

The citizens of Northern Louisiana have petitioned the Governor for protection against threatened negro insurrections. What cause they have to fear any disturbance is not stated. The best protection they can have, however, is to forget that these people are black, and treat them as citizens.

## A STRANGE COALITION—KENNETH RAYNER, OF NORTH CAROLINA, AND JOHN MITCHELL, OF FORTRESS MONROE.

To any man who will reason regarding the matter, the possibility or probability of a separation of the freed blacks of the Southern States from the whites, is far distant, and is likely never to occur. It needs no argument from us to prove this statement, for the place to which we could send four millions of people, the manner of transporting them thither, the immense debt which would thereby be entailed on the Government, and other difficulties too numerous to mention, to say nothing about gaining the consent of the Freedmen themselves, are subjects which instantly present themselves to a practical man when the project is presented for his consideration. It is plain that the blacks will remain in the land of their birth, notwithstanding the combined efforts of Know-Nothings and foreigners to the contrary. Mr. KENNETH RAYNER, of North Carolina, and JOHN MITCHELL, of Fortress Monroe, may howl about the necessity of separation in lugubrious sore-headed concordance now, as earnestly as some years since they differed as to the right of suffrage, regarding its application to newly-arrived Irish, Dutch, &c. This coalition of dissenting interests is a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of demagoguism. MITCHELL has always maintained that persons of foreign birth should have the same rights in free America as natives. RAYNER has, until lately in his long-winded letter to his Washington friend, upheld principles exactly opposite. His watchword, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night," is now changed to "Drive all the loyal people out of the South." But his efforts, and the efforts of those who lead and follow him will avail nothing. The blacks will remain here in the land to which their unquestionable loyalty gives them a better title than Messrs. RAYNER, MITCHELL, & Co., with their record during the war before us, can lay claim to. One of these worthies is expiating his rebellious crimes in prison, while the other, not responsible for anything that he did during a portion of the late contest, on account of a slight disarrangement of his mental faculties, from which, judging from his letter, we think it probable he has not yet recovered, is allowed to ease his overburdened mind by burdening the public with nonsensical efforts at statesmanship.

It is the duty of all to do what they can towards advancing the good of the community, and while MITCHELL has accepted a situation under Gen. MILES, Mr. RAYNER ought to accept the "situation" presented to him in the general aspect of the country, and strive to soothe our troubled waters, instead of increasing the commotion. He should not rush with hot-headed haste to the conclusion that free labor is a failure in this section, until it has been tried. Men who have always been held responsible for what they say and do, have tried the experiment in Maryland, Virginia, and on the sea coast, and pronounce it a success. MITCHELL was hasty in declining the grace of our chief executive, and his compeer should have been warned by that circumstance, and delayed his announcement until it was called for.

MITCHELL rushed into print with his treasonable views, and was rushed into prison therefor. Mr. RAYNER hurried into print with his unreasonable views, and while he has not gained as much notoriety as MITCHELL, he has at least evinced as much of a lack of practical common sense.

The National Republican publishes the following as "A word to RAYNER:"

From 1776 to 1835 the free negroes of North Carolina were permitted to vote. In the year last named a convention was held—in which our friend Kenneth Rayner, made his first appearance as a public man—and by a very small majority the colored men were ruled out. We venture to ask Mr. R. if he thinks, upon the whole, that he and his white neighbors have succeeded in governing the State any better since that time, than whites and blacks together did before? Also, if, had the privilege of voting been confined to the negroes altogether, could they in any possibility have made a worse list of it than the white men have?

From the same source we obtain the following:

In 1855 a good many people—Kenneth Rayner, and Mr. J. Madison Wells, Governor of Louisiana, among the number, we believe—thought that an Irishman, or a German, or any other man who placed himself under the protection of the Government of the United States of his own volition, and because he deemed its free government the best on earth, ought to live among the natives twenty-

one years before being allowed to vote. We beg to ask any intelligent ex-Know-Nothing, who ten years ago bellowed, "Put none but Americans on guard," Mr. Rayner, for instance, if he can express himself anywhere inside of illimitable space—how long, in order to preserve the eternal fitness of things, a people who have fought the same Government until they were subjugated by its power, and who yielded not until annihilation was the only alternative, ought to wait before being admitted to the same sacred privilege? Also, if it is altogether modest for such people to talk much about their constitutional rights?

Good-bye RAYNER. We have got through with you.

## NEW DOCTRINES FOR THE NEW ERA.

For years it has been the theory of Southern statesmen that the organic power of our government did not pass from the States when they gave in their adhesion to the Federal center. This theory has been instilled into the minds of nearly every child in the South, and the next generation will hold to the legality of the doctrine of secession as earnestly as the present. It is true that the leading statesmen of North Carolina have lately renounced secession as a political heresy, but they are laboring under a peculiar pressure arising from the disastrous condition of the country and the intricate prospects of the future status of the State. With a praiseworthy unanimity, the Constitutional Convention denounced this heresy; but the proceedings plainly show that there were a few delegates who merely succumbed to the pressure above mentioned. The right of revolution, to say the least, is a questionable one, and its principles are easily traduced, while the right of coercion is plainly established, but the principle is easily subverted and abused. These theories will exert a powerful influence on the future of our country, and it is, therefore, the duty of every father or teacher to lay aside his present prejudices, and looking only to the future, educate the uprising generation to a belief in the doctrine of a strong central government, controlled by a majority of our people, from whose decision there can be no appeal.

LOAVES AND FISHES.—The political contest now progressing in North Carolina is perplexing to any one who tries to discover what principle is involved. Gov. HOLDEN claims to be the Administration candidate; but the members of the Convention who have nominated his opponent also support the President. Gov. HOLDEN claims to be the Union candidate; but Mr. WORTH is supported by men whose record is as clear, if not clearer, than Mr. HOLDEN'S. LEWIS HANES, of Davidson, quondam private secretary, is an instance. Neither of the candidates have announced compliance with President JOHNSON'S policy regarding negro testimony. In fact, they stand virtually as they did previous to the war on the slavery question, except in so far as circumstances have altered the situation. The rebel war debt of the State cannot be a question in this canvass, as that subject was finally disposed of by the Convention. So all charges that either party are for or against it are mere bosh. To us it looks like a struggle for plunder and position, and we are like the old man who looked on while his wife fought the bear, remarking that he "didn't care a d—n which whipped."

PORTENTOUS.—A national flag was raised over our State capitol during the session of the Convention, but the flag-staff broke under the pressure of a high wind and it fell to the ground. Will the efforts of the Convention to practically place the State under the old flag prove futile? We don't believe in signs and portents, but we do think that such will be the result, and we shall rejoice over it as a victory over injustice and tyranny. If the Convention had not, coward like, dodged the matter set forth in the Freedmen's petition, the State would have been much better off. If it had come out manfully and acknowledged the justice of President JOHNSON'S policy regarding negro testimony, its efforts, like the flag, would not have fallen to the ground. As it is, they are on their way down now, and will reach the earth about the time our representatives ask for their seats in Congress.

The Freedmen's Bureau has received dispatches from Texas, giving very favorable accounts of the condition of affairs. But ten freedmen are subsisted at government expense in the city of Galveston.

Six thousand colored people in Washington have petitioned for the right of suffrage.

ANDREW JOHNSON. In our issue to-day will be found a report of a conversation between President JOHNSON and Geo. L. STEARNS, of Mass., detailing, in a clear and lucid manner, the views of the former regarding the questions of State interests which now absorb the attention of our country, and plainly stating what his reconstruction policy is.

He recognizes the power of the government to check the rebel States when, in the course of their efforts to rehabilitate themselves, they do anything that is wrong. This, he says, can be accomplished by the army, if necessary and by legislation. Officially, he is prevented from interfering in behalf of negro suffrage by the rights of States inherent in themselves, but, as a private citizen, he is in favor of extending the privilege to negroes who have served in our armies, to those who exhibit intelligence and are possessed of property amounting in value to \$250 or \$300.

He has unqualifiedly placed himself on record as in favor of the admission of the testimony of colored men in courts of justice, and his followers are expected to sustain him in that respect.

In the foregoing paragraphs will be found a true exposition of his policy regarding the interests of the freedmen. The question which yet remains clouded is the extent to which he would sanction or advise Congressional action. On that point hinges the power of our Government to exact from the Southern States the rights of a great race of people. In doing this, we feel assured that the wise men, who lead the movement, will not attempt anything like universal suffrage. Such a result would be disastrous, as it would increase the degradation of the ballot-box in this section, by adding to our voting community a large mass of ignorance. President's JOHNSON'S "private" basis is the true one, and we are sorry that he has not deemed it proper to endorse it officially.

The following is the report of the conversation, certified to by the President himself as correct:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 3, 1865.

Mr. A. M. STEARNS, of Mass., called on President JOHNSON, in which he talked for an hour on the process of reconstruction of rebel States. His manner was as cordial, and his conversation as free, as in 1863, when I met him daily in Nashville.

His countenance is healthy, even more so than when I first knew him. I remarked that the people of the North were anxious that the process of reconstruction should be thorough, and they wished to support him in the arduous work, but their ideas were confused by the conflicting reports constantly circulated, and especially by the present position of the Democratic party. It is industriously circulated in the Democratic Clubs that he was going over to them. He laughingly replied, "Major, have you ever known a man who had for many years differed from your views because you were in advance of him, claim them as his own when he came up to your stand-point?"

I replied, "I have often." He said, "So have I," and went on: "The Democratic party finds its old position untenable, and is coming to us; if it has come up to our position I am glad of it. You and I need no preparation for this conversation; we can talk freely on this subject, for the thoughts are familiar to us, we can be perfectly frank with each other." He then commenced with saying that the States are in the Union, which is whole and indivisible.

"Individuals tried to carry them out, but did not succeed, as a man may try to cut his throat and be prevented by the bystanders; and you cannot say he cut his throat because he tried to do it."

"Individuals may commit treason, and be punished, and a large number of individuals may constitute a rebellion and be punished as traitors. Some States tried to get out of the Union, and we opposed it, honestly, because we believed it to be wrong; and we have succeeded in putting down the rebellion. The power of those persons who made the attempt has been crushed, and we now want to reconstruct the State governments and have the power to do it. The State institutions are prostrated, laid out on the ground, and they must be taken up and adapted to the progress of events; this cannot be done in a moment. We are making very rapid progress, so rapid I sometimes cannot realize it; it appears like a dream."

"We must not be in too much of a hurry; it is better to let them reconstruct themselves than to force them to it; for if they go wrong, the power is in our hands, and we can check them at any stage to the end, and oblige them to correct their errors. We must be patient with them. I did not expect to keep out all who were excluded from the amnesty, or even a large number of them; but I intended that the crime they had committed."

"You could not have broached the subject of equal suffrage at the North seven years ago, and we must remember that the changes at the South have been more rapid, and they have been obliged to accept more up-to-date truth than the North has. We must give them time to digest a part, for we cannot expect such large affairs will be comprehended and digested at once. We must give them time to understand their new position."

"I have nothing to conceal in these matters, and have no desire or willingness to take indirect courses to obtain what we want."

"Our government is a grand and lofty structure; in searching for its foundation we find it rests on the broad basis of popular rights. The elective franchise is not a natural right, but a political right. I am opposed to giving the States too much power, and also to a great consolidation of power in the central government."

"If I interfered with the vote in the rebel States, to dictate that the negro shall vote, I might do the same thing for my own purposes in Pennsylvania. Our only safety lies in allowing each State to control the right of voting by its own laws, and we have the power to control the rebel States if they go wrong. If they rebel, we have the army, and can control them by it, and, if necessary, by legislation also. If the General Government controls the right to vote in the States, it may establish such rules as will restrict the vote to a small number of persons, and thus create a central despotism."

"My position here is different from what it would be if I were in Tennessee."

"There I should try to introduce negro suffrage gradually; first those who had served in the army; those who could read and write, and perhaps a property qualification for others, say \$200 or \$250."

"It will not do to let the negroes have universal suffrage now, it would breed a war of races."

"There was a time in the Southern States when the slaves of large owners looked down upon non-slaveholders because they did not own slaves; the larger the number of slaves their masters owned, the prouder they were, and this has produced hostility between the mass of the whites and the negroes. The outcasts are mostly from non-slaveholding whites against the negro, and from the negro upon the non-slaveholding whites."

"The negro will vote with the late master whom he does not hate, rather than with the non-slaveholding white, whom he does hate. Universal suffrage would create another war, not against us, but a war of races."

"Another thing: This Government is the freest and best on earth, and I feel sure is destined to last; but to secure this, we must elevate and purify the ballot. I for many years contended at the South that slavery was a political weakness, but others said it was political strength; they thought we gained three-fifths representation by it; I contended that we lost two-fifths."

"If we had no slaves, we should have had twelve representatives more, according to the ratio of representation. Congress apportioned representation by States, not districts, and the State apportioned by districts."

"Many years ago I moved in the Legislature that the apportionment of Representatives to Congress, in Tennessee, should be by qualified voters."

"The apportionment is now fixed until 1872; before that time we might change the basis of representation from population to qualified voters, North as well as South, and in due course of time the States, without regard to color, might extend the elective franchise to all who possessed certain mental, moral, or such other qualifications as might be determined by an enlightened public judgment."

Geo. L. STEARNS.

## THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM THE SOUTH.

Of the many paragraphs on this subject published at the North, we select the following as evidencing a decided change in public opinion:

"It is possible, as we frequently hear it said, that it can be seriously designed to withdraw from this the troops of the United States? This would be an act of supreme madness, handing over the friends of the Government helpless to the malice of their adversaries. Should such an event take place, we could have no safety but in flight."—Private Letter.

The withdrawal of all the troops from the South except the garrisons on the seacoast, which has been heretofore loudly demanded in many portions of the South, is now most heartily deplored, and piteous appeals are reaching the military authorities here to have them retained, especially the white troops, because of the fears of violence at the hands of the freedmen. The white troops in the South composing the movable portion, which will be ready for any emergency, will be composed henceforth almost entirely of regulars. The colored troops will only do garrison duty.—New York Times Wash. Special.

The only objection we have to offer to offer to the above is the intimation that the Freedmen will commit acts of violence. We know there is no danger of such a thing now, for these people are as quiet and submissive as could be expected. Long years of servitude have resulted in the production of a submissive character, which is only in danger of being overturned by the constant suggestion of crime. If people continue to talk of insurrections, they need not be surprised to hear of them; but repose confidence in the freedmen, and they will trouble no one.

A prominent North Carolinian says the report is correct and believed by the politicians of that State, that the names of their Congressmen elect will be entered upon the roll of the House, and called by the Clerk at the opening of the session.

We opine that the "prominent North Carolinian" does not call to mind the fact that several rebel States sent up delegations after their representatives had seceded, and that the clerk established a precedent, by allowing their credentials to go to the House for investigation. As the war has not been declared at an end; it is quite probable that any representative who may present credentials to the next Congress from a rebellious State, will be served in a like manner.

OUR ADVERTISERS.—Few and far between are the advertising favors which we receive, and yet they are already more than we expected. Messrs. Bowen & Randall, No. 15 Fayetteville street, appreciating the fact that the colored trade of the city was worth something, and that advertising is a mere matter of business, were the first to venture their names in our columns. Their advertisement speaks for itself, claiming truthfully that they have on hand a large and well selected stock of ladies' furnishing goods, &c. The "Lady's Own Store" is a place where all should call before purchasing elsewhere.

Geo. Z. FRENCH & Co., on Fayetteville street, understand the use of printer's ink, and the benefit of the colored trade. The assortment of goods in their establishment is as extensive and varied as is to be found in any store south of Baltimore, and speaks well for the energy and enterprise of the firm. Purchasers can find most anything there, from a cambric needle and a gallon of molasses to a pitch-fork, and an excellent article of whisky, including dry-goods, and every thing else that man, woman or child can need in summer or winter.